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ABSTRACT

The inability of many African countries to achieve the rates of growth in education and employment which were forecast may partly reflect the over-optimism which characterized the 1960s, as well as the consequences of the decline in the global economic situation. There is also in Africa, as there is worldwide, a disenchantment with traditional macro-planning approaches to education. Many countries, such as Cameroon and Togo, are utilizing a micro-planning approach, emphasizing reforms of inherited educational systems with the aim of incorporating technical, vocational, and scientific subjects into the curriculum. The goal of universal, free, and compulsory education has been attained by Cameroon and Togo. In both countries, there is also an increase in enrollment of females at all levels of the educational system. Although most of the graduates of higher education institutions have been employed in the public and private sectors of the economy, efforts to provide employment opportunities for primary, secondary, and technical school leavers have not been satisfactory. (RM)

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EDUCATIONAL PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA
AN ASSESSMENT OF THE ENDEAVORS OF CAMEROON AND TOGO

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By

John McFadden* & Bernard Nzo-Nguty+
University of South Carolina

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*System Vice President for Intercultural Affairs and Professional Development, University of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C.

+Ph.D. degree candidate, Department of Government and International Studies, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina

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EDUCATIONAL PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA: AN ASSESSMENT OF THE ENDEAVORS OF CAMEROON AND TOGO

INTRODUCTION

On achieving political independence, most African countries inherited an educational system or systems from their former colonizers which neither reflected African values nor were compatible with the national aspirations of the newly independent states. The British, through their colonial ideology of "indirect rule" set-up primary and secondary schools which were modelled after the metropolitan forms. At the primary school level, the British emphasized the "adaptation of curricula to native or local life."[1] This meant, in effect, that technical, vocational and agricultural education was priority number one. The use of dialects or local national languages were allowed for instruction in the first years of primary school while the English language was the main language of instruction throughout the primary and secondary school levels. At the latter level, "academic" rather than "vocational" subjects were taught.

Similarly, the French, through their colonial ideology of "assimilation" also developed a curriculum for primary education based on manual labor and vocational training. Unlike the British, the French did not allow the use of dialects as a language of instruction at this level. French was the main language of instruction. After World War II, the elaborate secondary education system which developed in France was exported to her colonies in Africa.[2] It has been argued that theoretically, the two colonial ideologies appear to be different, but in practice, they had similar objectives and consequences.[3] For example, the insistence on the use of either French or English as the language of instruction was a device to impose foreign cultural values on Africans.

Furthermore, the decision to limit Africans educational advancement in most of the colonies to the secondary school level with emphasis on "academic" rather than professional or vocational education, as well as the selection of very few Africans to benefit from higher education facilities in France or Britain indicate the unwillingness to enhance their access to higher administrative, professional and technical positions.[4] As such, the colonizers maintained a truncated educational hierarchy during the entire period of their colonial legacy in Africa. Clignet points out that the colonial authorities were also afraid of the "dangers of overurbanization with its growing mass of educated, unemployed males prone to indulge in political agitation."[5] By implication, this contention also suggests that the education of "females" was also not given any serious consideration by the colonizers since their role in the overall development in the colonies was undermined. In fact, a thesis has been advanced that:

> *formal education in Africa and Asia in its present form tends to impede economic growth and promotes political instability, in short, education in Africa and Asia today is an obstacle to development.*[6]

However, since the early 1960s when most of the African states became politically independent, efforts have been made to ameliorate the inherited educational system(s). The "take-off" point was the 1961 Addis Ababa Conference of African Heads of State and governments which set as their goal universal, free and compulsory primary education by 1980.[7] In the light of this goal, various educational planning approaches, conceptualized in the Western industrialized countries, were adopted for implementation in the newly independent states of Africa. Evaluating the endeavors of the African governments in the realization of their stated goal, Mr. Amadou-Mohtar M'Bow, Director General

of UNESCO, informed a conference of African Ministers of Education that despite their efforts, the long term target set at Addis Ababa would not be achieved mainly because of a race between population increase, which was rapidly rising towards 3% per annum in Africa as a whole, and efforts to increase enrollments. Furthermore, the number of illiterates was rising even though the percentage of illiteracy had fallen between 1961 and 1970 from 81% to 73.7%. Finally, the Director-General also pointed out that it was only at the level of higher education that the Addis Ababa targets had been exceeded.[8]

A subsequent evaluation study by Foster confirmed the prediction of the Director-General of UNESCO and added that not only has the goal of universal, free, and compulsory primary education been unattainable in most African states, but most of them in 1980 could neither provide secondary education for 30% of all the children who completed primary education nor create enough university places for 20% of students who completed secondary school.[9] Although population growth has been cited as the principal cause of the failure of African governments to realize their stated goal, we are inclined to think that the structure of the international economic, educational, and political system is also a contributory factor which, invariably, has an impact on the domestic structure of the African states.

The aim of this paper is therefore twofold: (i) to identify and briefly analyze some of the major issues involved in educational planning globally, and in Africa since the independence era, and (ii) to examine the educational planning approach adopted by the Cameroon and Togolese governments towards the realization of their national as well as African aspirations. Our analysis in section one of this paper focuses on the nature of the issues and the impact on African states within the global system. Section two evaluates the Cameroon

and Togolese governments' endeavor in the sphere of educational development with particular emphasis on the planning process. Finally, our conclusion will reflect our assessment of the level of success and failure attained to date by these countries.

SECTION I

THE NATURE OF THE ISSUES

A) General Outlook

In both anglophone and francophone African states, the whole process of educational development since the early 1960s leaves a picture of quantitative progress. But on the other hand, there has been a yawning gap in educational facilities available to the coastal and interior regions of most states. The coastal areas are more educationally developed because of the concentration of the colonizers in these areas at the initial phase of colonialism. In effect, the overall national enrollments in primary and secondary schools even though quantitatively and qualitatively progressive in some states, the high drop-out rate and structural imbalance in the educational systems remain the major problems to be resolved.

For instance, between 1960-1973, Foster has observed that at the primary level, total enrollments as a proportion of the relevant age groups rose from 36% to over 50%. Furthermore, whereas secondary and higher education have been expanded, they represent a slight increase of 8% and 0.6% respectively. Thus, in comparison with other Third World countries, the educational pyramid of Africa South of the Sahara does not only remain narrow at the base and extraordinarily constricted at the summit and secondary level,[10] Africa, as a region, Todaro points out, also lags behind at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels.[11]

Another area of concern has been the increased concentration on social sciences and the humanities. The debate on this aspect is whether emphasis should be placed more in the areas of science and technology or social sciences and humanities. In fact, the view held among some African scholars as far

as higher education is concerned is that:

> *...the most important areas for making African universities African are the humanities and social sciences, for it is the subjects in these areas which go to define the civilization of a people and which therefore distinguish them from others.*[12]

This view upholds one of the ideals of African nationalism. But on the other hand, there is also an undesirable decline of enrollments in vocational and technical schools (less than 10%, as well as in scientific and technological subjects in the universities which decreased from 36% in 1965 to 32% in 1971.[13] Among other factors responsible for this situation are lack of well-trained teachers and professors and the appropriate infrastructural facilities. These factors could be attributed to the cumulative effects of colonialism on the emergent independent states which imposed on them the additional burden to re-establish their African identity as well as face the responsibility of the socio-economic development of the continent.

For example, the dilemma faced by post-independent African governments in the process of their socio-economic and political development is that:

> *modernization of a country is evaluated according to universalist criteria. This leads to the proposition that elites should receive a universal form of training and should be interchangeable. On the other hand, political development requires mobilization of the energies of individual citizens and corresponding emphasis upon the virtues of Africanization.*[14]

To crown it all, the accelerating rate of population growth, increasing costs of education, unfavorable terms of international trade, and world-wide inflation, has made it a matter of pragmatism for the leaders of each independent African state to adopt long-term development plans which incorporate different types

of educational planning approaches and development strategies. Hence, the real issues in educational planning in Africa embody socio-economic, political and cultural constraints -- the manipulation of which differ from one country to the other depending on a cluster of variables, such as size, population, resources, leadership, etc. In this light, the range of choice of educational planning and development approaches or strategies are not only limited but also influenced and constrained by both internal and external factors. Stated in another form, a "radical" or "moderate" approach of solving these problems does not alleviate African leaders of the dilemma inherent in the process of modernization.[15]

B) Policy Options and Implications

From a global perspective, education has always been considered as the "key that unlocks the door to modernization."[16] The term "modernization" has been subjected to numerous definitions. In the political context, it embraces the social mobilization process which involves a change in the attitudes, values, and expectations of people from those associated with the traditional world to those common to the modern world. In other words, the term denotes the consequence of literacy, education, increased communications, mass media exposure, and urbanization.[17] In the economic context, it refers to the growth in the "total economic activity and output of a society...measured by per capita gross national product, level of industrialization, and level of individual welfare gauged by such indices as life expectancy, calorie intake, supply of hospitals and doctors..."[18]

In this light, educational planning becomes the concern of nation builders, policy planners, and scholars interested in the modernization process. Basically,

three approaches to educational planning have been very influential. These approaches have been termed as (i) the social demand approach, (ii) the manpower forecasting approach, and (iii) the rate of return analysis approach.[19] The social demand approach is essentially a simple planning technique based on the calculation of what the situation in respect of costs, supply of teachers, plants and resources, and school leaver output will be at the end of a specified planning period if existing school provision remains more or less as it is, as well as what would be required if various kinds of social demand were acceded to.

The manpower forecasting approach involves an analysis of the skilled manpower requirements of the economy from which a calculation may be made of the quantities, kinds and levels of education required to meet these requirements. The rate of return approach is based upon the assumption that the wages and salaries paid to workers closely reflect differences in their productivity, and that variations in their productivity are primarily the result of differences in the amounts and kinds of education they have received. The dominant feature of educational planning, Blaug points out, is uncertainty about the future because of the complexities of the real world.[20] In a sense, the educational plans of African states have been subjected to the various aspects of uncertainty in the international system.

For example, considering the fact that in Africa the resources needed for efficient and effective planning are limited, even though the states are seeking to provide both quantitative and qualitative education, the social demand approach, "whilst useful, cannot offer all the guidance we need as to how best to meet identified needs."[21] The manpower forecasting approach which was strongly emphasized during the independence era - 1960s - in Africa because

of the necessity to replace departing expatriates with local manpower which was in short supply, has also been subjected to extensive criticism. For example, Jolly and Colclough, reviewing over thirty manpower studies conducted in more than twenty African countries between 1960 and 1972 concluded that the planning techniques used were subject to a wide range of technical deficiencies -- weakness of data, crude assumptions, and methodological inadequacies.[22] The fundamental problem in this approach, Thompson argues, is that:

> *in a situation of world economic uncertainty, it was virtually impossible to forecast with any accuracy how far and in what ways the economy would develop...and that the assumptions on which manpower planning are based lend themselves to easy translation into schooling requirements but tend to impose too inflexible a structure upon the use of manpower in industry.*[23]

All the same, given the inflexibility of the structure imposed on education planners by the manpower forecasting approach, it is not surprising that decision makers on educational planning in Africa have adopted this approach with its inherent deficiencies. The rationale for adopting this approach is that African educational development should be geared towards helping to raise the standard of living of the people by increasing the productive capacity of its human and natural resources. The implicit and explicit assumption in this contention is that educational development can make tangible short or long-term contribution to economic development.[24]

It seems to me that this rationale is derived from the fact that the purpose and scope of government of independent and post-independent African states differ significantly from those of the colonial powers. Whereas one may be inclined to consider both colonial and emergent African governments as pre-occupied with the maintenance of law and order as a response to internal security threats

and instability, the inherent difference is underscored by General Yakubu Gowon, a former Head of State of Nigeria in these words:

> *Today, public administration is development-oriented and the narrow confines of the preservation of law and public order, although still vital and necessary, are generally taken for granted. An educational system and philosophy oriented in the colonial era will, in the circumstances of today, be unserviceable to us.*[25]

Indeed, the adaptation of an educational system to reflect African values involves vital policy options. Besides the policy option of curriculum reform (which incorporates the sensitive issue of language of instruction in schools), there are also options for expansion of schools, building of more schools in order to solve the problem of inequalities of access to schools, training of teachers, standardization or internationalization of curriculum, and above all, numerous socio-economic and cultural options in the sphere of health, agriculture, communications, etc... -- all requiring immediate action by African governments.

From this perspective, the vital policy question in Africa in the sphere of educational planning and development is the extent to which one can measure social returns to increased investment in education as compared to those accruing to other investments in the overall development of African states. In fact, critiques of the rate of return analysis approach question the extent to which salaries reflect productivity. For instance, in most African states, some salary scales (management and administrative) were inflated by the transfer to indigenous staff of salaries previously paid to expatriates without first deducting the substantial element in those salaries which were paid as an inducement to work in Africa and without taking account of the fact that the salaries were determined in relation to what expatriates would have earned in the very

different economic context of their country of origin. Civil Service salaries in particular continue to owe much to this and little to productivity considerations. Since the rate of return analysis approach of educational planning can only indicate directions in which education systems should expand to maximize the earning capacity of their products over a limited period, it is, like the other two approaches, imperfect.[26]

Although Windham reviews the growing global disenchantment with the aforementioned traditional macro-planning approaches,[27] one can also argue that the inability of many African countries to achieve the rates of growth in scholarization and employment which were forecast may partly reflect the over-optimism which characterized the 1960s as well as the consequences of the decline in the global economic situation characterized by fluctuations in the terms of trade, rapid rise in oil prices, and the effects of the Sahelian drought. Given the deficiencies in these approaches in educational planning, African countries, like other parts of the developing and developed world, tend to shift towards micro-planning approach which seeks means of achieving the stated goal of universal, free and compulsory primary education with emphasis on vocational and technical education.[28]

The transition from macro to micro planning approach has necessitated the emphasis on "reforms" of the inherited educational systems with the aim of incorporating technical, vocational and scientific subjects in the curricula as a panacea towards economic development. Even though some skeptics view the reform emphasis as "extremely tenuous" and suggest as an alternative strategy, "on-the-job-training" as a workable solution to vocationalizing the schools,[29] most African governments tend to share the belief that:

> *...it may be wiser to provide students with a general basic training that would facilitate their adaptation to a variety of professional situations rather than to limit their education to the acquisition of specific and hence less transferable skills.*[30]

Considering the controversial nature of this contention, perhaps it may be of interest to evaluate the endeavor of the Cameroon and Togolese governments in the overall educational development in these countries. Section two of this paper will therefore be devoted to this task.

SECTION II

THE CAMEROON AND TOGOLESE ENDEAVORS

A) Brief Historical Review

The present United Republic of Cameroon and the Republic of Togo were German colonies secured after the Berlin Conference of 1884 during which the European powers shared African territories among themselves. The Germans extended their control inland and worked energetically to develop the economic and social infrastructure. German rule in Cameroon and Togo can be classified under two periods: from 1884-1900, it was characterized by the pacification of the inhabitants, and from 1900-1914, the Germans started developing Cameroon and Togo as model colonies in West Africa. After the invasion of Cameroon and Togo by the joint efforts of the French and British during World War I, both colonies became "mandated" territories under the League of Nations and divided between the French and British colonial administrations (1919-1945).

After World War II, the mandated territories became "trusteeships" under the United Nations, and Cameroon, as a trusteeship territory continued to be administered by France and Great Britain. One quarter of the territory under British rule was known as "British Cameroons" while the remaining three quarters under French rule was known as "French Cameroon". French Cameroon achieved autonomous status within the French community in 1957 and, under the leadership of Ahmadou Ahidjo, became the independent Republic of Cameroon on January 1, 1960. The disposition of British Cameroons was settled by a United Nations-sponsored plebiscite conducted on February 11, 1961 in which the northern section voted to merge with Nigeria, while the southern section voted to reunite with the former French Cameroon. On October 1, 1961, both reunited sections of Cameroon

gave birth to the Federal Republic of Cameroon, with Ahidjo as president.[31]

Similarly, during the mandate and trusteeship periods, Western Togo was administered as part of the British Gold Coast (now Ghana), and French Togo was given its own governmental structure. Following a U.N. supervised plebiscite held on May 28, 1956, western (British) Togoland became part of the newly independent state of Ghana in 1957 when independence was achieved from the British. Eastern (French) Togoland, which also became a French-sponsored autonomous state on the same date, subsequently achieved complete independence in agreement with France and the United Nations on April 27, 1960 with Sylvanus Olympio as president.[32]

Educational development in the United Republic of Cameroon could be classified under seven distinct periods: (i) pre-colonial era but under missionary pioneership -- 1844-1884; (ii) German rule period -- 1884-1914; (iii) the period of abeyance after World War I -- 1914-1922; (iv) the mandate period under the League of Nations -- 1922-1946; (v) the trusteeship period under the United Nations -- 1946-1961; (vi) the independence and post independence era under the "federal" system of government -- 1961-1972; (vii) the post-independence era under the "unitary" system of government -- 1972 to date.[33] Except for the latter period, educational development in the Republic of Togo could be classified within the aforemention periods. Under the missionary pioneership era, responsibility for educational policy and development was often entirely formulated by the home Board of the missionary societies - Presbyterian or Catholic - which sent missionaries to Cameroon and Togo.

As Le Vine points out, "the missionary societies came not only to effect conversions, but to provide the "civilized" context within which the varied values of Christianity (as interpreted by each sect) could best be propagated."[34]

Hence, during the colonial period under German, French and British rule, there was some sort of collaboration between the government in power and the missionaries. For instance, Christaller, the German colonial governor in Cameroon until his death in 1896, "was not satisfied to give natives an elementary education: he wanted to give those who had left school and already employed by the government or by traders an opportunity to continue their study of the German language."[35] By design or plan, the government limited its own schools to the number thought necessary for the training of natives to work in the service of the administration. For all other educational work, the government placed its reliance on the missions and granted thousands of marks to them for teaching the German language.[36]

Apparently, the manpower forecasting approach which the German colonial administration applied had the ulterior motive of not only limiting the level of education of Cameroonians and Togolese, but also to impose the German language and culture on them. Similarly, the French colonial policy of "assimilation" aimed at creating in each territory "a thoroughly Gallicized elite which would some day be able to aid in the administration of their territory."[37] The British educational system, dominated by the missionaries, had as one of its basic goals, the conversion of the colonized through local leaders. The philosophical difference between the British colonial policy of "indirect rule" and that of the French, Crowder argues, was that:

> *France in the education of her elite aimed at producing "French" Africans, whose loyalty to France and indifference to local nationalism would be assured; Britain sought to produce an "African" African, and was aware she could not educate the people of a colony without expecting them to ask for self-government.*[38]

However, inspite of the similarities in the colonizers' objectives, one notices a slight variation on the level of the impact of the policies on the

colonized. For example, with increased export earnings worth about $500,000, and revenue raised by taxation which made up about 5% of G.D.P., - relatively large for that epoch, German Togoland, as it was then known, enjoyed an "economic miracle" which made it possible to finance the country's infrastructure without resort to German capital.[39]

Togo's "economic miracle" was no doubt due to the rapid development of the plantation in the south of the country. This boom also brought about the highest level of educational development in Africa. For example, with 13,700 pupils in 1914 (9% of them of school age), German Togoland had an enormous advantage over the other West African countries.[40] All the same, educational development at this stage was characterized by three distinct elements:

(1) *localization of schools in the South;*

(2) *utilization of the Ewe Language for instruction;*

(3) *concentration of important studies on the Ewe language.*

The result of this endeavor - although restricted in scope to primary and secondary education - was the formation of intellectual elites not uprooted from their traditional or cultural values or environment.[41]

Educational development under the "mandated" and "trusteeship" periods, it seems to us, aimed at balancing the structural inequalities by concentrating in the northern region of Togo. French became the official language of instruction in schools and the teaching of Togolese National Languages was left at the discretion of Protestant and Catholic Missionaries. Even though this period was one of relatively swift development evidenced by triple volume of exports between 1949-54, increased investment in infrastructure, population growth, and urbanization,[42] the pace of educational development was not only far behind other development projects but also ignored the aspirations of the

Togolese people. Consequently, unlike the German era when the Ewe language was encouraged, knowledge of french was mandatory and made the Togolese alien to their own culture.

On achieving independence from France on April 27, 1960, the inherited colonial educational system, after some slight reforms, did not still reflect the desires of the Togolese people nor provide the manpower needs of the state required for its political, cultural and socioeconomic development. However, the creation in 1970 of the University of Benin in Lome - the capital city of the Republic of Togo - was a significant achievement by the Togolese government but the challenges of its socioeconomic, cultural and political development were multiplying as a result of its rapid population growth recorded at 2.6% annually between 1966-1979.[43] It was perhaps for these reasons among others that in 1972 - twelve years after independence, the government under the leadership of President Eyadema, ordered an inquiry of the possibility of a detailed educational reform in Togo.[44]

Cameroon, on achieving independence from France on January 1, 1960, and the subsequent reunification of the English and French-speaking Cameroon, the statistics of enrollment in both public and private schools was as follows:[45]

TABLE 1

ENROLLMENT FIGURES FOR EAST CAMEROON
(FRENCH-SPEAKING)

LEVEL OF EDUCATION	1961	1962	% INCREASE
PRIMARY SCHOOL	382,970	427,129	11
SECONDARY SCHOOL	11,349	14,606	28
TECHNICAL SCHOOL	3,608	4,535	25

ENROLLMENT FIGURES FOR WEST CAMEROON
(ENGLISH-SPEAKING)

LEVEL OF EDUCATION	1961	1962	% INCREASE
PRIMARY SCHOOL	80,000	90,000	12.5
SECONDARY SCHOOL	718	908	26.4
TECHNICAL SCHOOL	-	-	-

While the inherited colonial educational system was left in tact, the increasing size of the school population and emergent political institutions required the reorganization of the administrative services, some of which were under federal control and others under state control of the East and West Cameroon governments. The state governments were responsible for primary education while other levels of education including responsibility for reform was under federal jurisdiction.

The absence of any higher educational institution necessitated the creation of the Federal University of Cameroon on July 26, 1962 as the "nursery of the elite of the country."[46] French and English were adopted as the languages of instruction in the University. But the adoption of these foreign languages as the medium of instruction in the University of Cameroon as well as for official transactions within the country and externally did not imply that Cameroon national languages - about 200 in number - became obsolete. As emphasized by Bernard Fonlon, "the main Cameroon languages must live; for if they are completely supplanted by English and French, we will become nameless, rootless race... we are forced, for all our pride to seek unity among ourselves, to seek modern development, through alien tongues."[47] Bilingual education therefore became a national goal which had to be achieved systematically. A major problem at this stage of educational development and planning in Cameroon was the shortage or lack of trained teachers at all levels of the educational structure.

Aware of this problem, it was imperative that the government formulated

educational policies which reflected Cameroon's aspirations. Hence, President Ahmadou Ahidjo stated in a speech in 1962 that:

> *The primary aim of education is not to instruct men for the sake of instructing, but to enable them fully to participate in the development and exploitation of their country which is to say that educational policy must, if necessary, be related to employment policy... Education must therefore, become an essential and general part of the development effort, so as to avoid conflict between human investment and direct productive investment activities. Current educational systems correspond neither to African realities nor to the demands of a balanced economic development.*[48]

Apparently, educational planning within the Second Five Year Development Plan incorporated both the techniques of the social demand approach as well as the manpower forecasting approach. Allowance was also made within this plan to "ruralize" primary education and link it with vocational teaching. Perhaps a synopsis of the inherited educational systems will elucidate the rationale for the contemplated reform in both Cameroon and Togo.

B) Synopsis of the Inherited Systems

As already mentioned, the Federal Republic of Cameroon inherited educational systems which were modelled after British and French systems, and they remained intact until 1963. The two major structural differences between the two systems were that primary education in francophone Cameroon lasted for six years while in anglophone Cameroon it was eight years. By passing a competitive entrance examination, children enter a seven-year secondary school course at the age of twelve. At the end of the duration of the course, they obtain the University of London General Certificate of Education (GCE) Advanced Level or the French Baccalaureat. Both the GCE "A" Level and Baccalaureat Certificates are requirements for entrance into the University.

It is noteworthy that the first cycle of the anglophone system last five years and leads to the GCE Ordinary Level while the first cycle of the francophone system last four years and leads to the Brevet Elementaire du Premier Cycle (BEPC). A federal law of June 18, 1963 introduced a new time table and slight changes in the curricula, syllabuses and methods of teaching at the primary, secondary and technical school levels. Meanwhile, a numerical shortage of teachers and qualified staff at all educational levels remained a major problem as enrollments increased.[49]

The organization of the educational system in Togo is an adaptation of the French educational model. Thus, it differs conceptually from that of Great Britain. The two major differences are (i) the levels of education for the age group from six to eighteen, and (ii) the conceptualization of post-secondary education. Education for the five to eighteen-year olds was divided into three levels, referred to as degré. The first level, for the five to eleven-year old, includes six years of elementary school. This level is referred to as the first degree (premier degré). The next level, the second degree (deuxième degré) is for the eleven to fifteen-year old. The third level (troisième degré) is for the fifteen to eighteen-year old.

Beginning at age thirteen, in the second half of the second degree, different tracks of study may be pursued by the student. These tracks include a general education track, an agricultural training track, or a technical training track. These alternatives are continued in the third level (troisième degré). The university preparation curricula are provided in the school referred to as the Lycée (High School). Completion of one of the three areas included in the lycée leads to the Baccalaureat Diploma or High School Certificate. The requirement for entrance into the University includes receipt of the baccalaureat as in the case in Cameroon. The other tracks in the troisième degré include

training such as mechanical arts, agricultural training, and teacher training for the primary school. Completion of any of these curricula leads to a diploma.

Interestingly, there is a similarity in the organization of secondary education in Cameroon and Togo and the conceptualization of post-secondary education result in different "levels" of teacher training. That is, in the United States, for example, all teacher training is conducted at the university level. Both elementary and secondary school teachers in the United States receive an advanced course of study that includes foundations, research, methodology, and specialized courses. However, in the French model implemented in the Republic of Togo, teachers are trained at different levels in the educational system. Therefore, their preparation varies considerably in quality. This pattern is almost the same even though Cameroon inherited both the British and French educational models.

Teachers for the elementary school are trained in the Teacher Colleges (Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs adjoint) which offer one-, two-, and three-year programs which correspond to the level of the candidate. This training is not a university-level education. Most of the teachers at this level do not receive an advanced education beyond that of high school, and are known as Grade I or II teachers. At the secondary school level, some of the teachers are university graduates without certification in teaching while others are graduates from the Normal High School (Ecole Normale Superieure). Furthermore, most of the faculty for the second cycle of secondary school or Lycée which prepare students for the GCE "A" Levels or Baccalaureat diploma are university graduates.

Even though Cameroon federal law of June 18, 1963 slightly changed the curricula, syllabuses and methods of teaching at the primary school level as

well introduced agriculture, handicrafts, home economics and other civic courses, it was felt that drastic reform was necessary at this level. A first step in this direction was the attempt to reform the primary school system in the francophone section of the country. For this purpose, a UNESCO-assisted teacher training institution - l'Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs à Vocation Rurale (E.N.I.R.) was established in 1967, changing its name two years later to Institute of Rurally Applied Education (Institut de Pédagogie Appliquée a Vocation Rurale - I.P.A.R.)[50] located in Yaounde - capital city of Cameroon. Another branch of IPAR was created in 1974 and located in Buea - the former administrative headquarters of anglophone Cameroon.

Meanwhile, in Togo, the need for a reform was perceived from a different perspective. A former Minister of Education, Mr. Yaya Malou disclosed that statistics for 1972 showed that in primary and technical schools, there was only one girl for every two boys; in the first cycle of secondary schools, only one girl for every three boys; in the second cycle, one girl for every five boys, and in the university, the proportion dropped to one to ten. Furthermore, 48% of children of school age did not attend school; and those who attended primary school but did not go to secondary school soon fell back into illiteracy.[51]

In addition to the inequalities of sex enrollments, inaccessibility and low enrollments at the primary school level compounded by the high drop-out rate, the former minister also disclosed that inequalities in enrollment in the regions varied between 84.4% in some and 20.2% in others. Above all, many children of poor parents could not attend schools because of the high cost of equipment, clothing and fees. In this light, the inherited but slightly modified educational system was not only undemocratic and uneconomic, but also ill-adapted to the child, the country's real situation, and the requirements

of development.[52] It is with this experience that the decision to reform the inherited and modified educational system was taken.

C) OBJECTIVES OF THE REFORM

The reform tasks assigned to IPAR-Yaounde was designed to accomplish the following objectives (i) to reduce the disparity between the primary school and the rural environment; (ii) to stop the migration of youths from the rural to urban areas, and (iii) to ruralize the primary school curriculum.[53] IPAR had a personnel roll of over 103 people including fifteen UNESCO experts, twelve French technical advisers, one United States Peace Corps volunteer, and a German expert.[54] The scope of responsibility of IPAR-Yaounde was not only to reform the curriculum and train a new generation of teachers, but also to provide inservice training, research, and the production of protypes, textbooks and teaching materials.

Initially, the reform was planned in three major phases, namely, introductory, experimental and implementation. At the introductory phase, the goal was to train primary school teachers with specialized skills in rural education and the development of didactic materials which were to be used at the experimental phase for teaching in rural schools. The implementation phase was scheduled for the beginning of the academic year of 1976-77. By 1973, the experimental phase generated a class conflict between the 300 trainees who were sent out into 290 selected experimental schools and the headmasters and older teachers - the latter whose experience and salary comparatively was less valued and lower.[55] Moreover, not only did some of the 300 trainees possess qualifications which were below the entry requirement for the training program - especially those in the Maroua and Ngaoundere teacher training colleges, there

was also the unresolved debate as to whether the official status of the IPAR trainees should be "agricultural extension workers" or primary school teachers.

First of all, it must be noted that the report submitted by IPAR-Yaounde in 1972 caused sporadic reaction because the teaching materials produced or recommended did not take cognizance of the cultural environment in which they were to be used. Second, its implementation coincided with the change from a federal to a unitary system of government brought about by the May 20, 1972 Peaceful Revolution in Cameroon. Consequently, IPAR-Yaounde created under the former system of government and vested with bureaucratic powers by the Minister which have been described as "excessive" and "exclusive",[56] automatically came under the control of a new Minister and a Vice Minister of Education. An evaluation of IPAR-Yaounde indicates that:

> *its weakness was that its analysis of problems was not based on sufficiently thorough research, and that the reformed curriculum would be considerably more expensive to operate than that which it aimed to supplant.*[57]

Meanwhile, the birth of the United Republic of Cameroon under the continued leadership of President Ahmadou Ahidjo meant in effect that the goal of ruralizing primary education remained a challenge to the regime as that of balancing the rate of scholarization in the francophone North and anglophone Northwest Provinces of Cameroon which have the lowest levels of primary school enrollment in the country. The combined population of these two provinces is 3.25 million or 42% of Cameroon's 7.7 million people (1976 census). The North alone, which is the poorest region of the country, accounts for about 30% of Cameroon's population and one-third of its land area.

Several factors are responsible for this state of affairs. First, the remoteness of these provinces from the main centers of Cameroon and to the strength of cultural traditions and resistance to missionary influence before

and during the colonial era. It is important to note that in the anglophone Northwest and Southwest Provinces, there were no public schools prior to September 1971. Second, the shortage of trained teachers and the unwillingness of the few trained ones to accept positions in the rural areas of North and Northwest Provinces. In 1974-75, there were approximately 21,000 teachers in primary and nursery schools, 3,500 in secondary schools, and 1,230 in technical schools.[58] Apparently, this meant that in the North, where there is a heavy Moslem influence, recruitment problem is significantly worse for female primary school children and female teachers than it is for the male counterparts. Third, the underdeveloped infrastructure and lack of incentives to live in these provinces contributed to the under-scholarization of the inhabitants as compared to those in the other five provinces of the country.

In the light of these problems, the Third and Fourth Five Year Development Plans (1971-75) and (1976-80) emphasized the following needs for education in Cameroon: (i) introduction of a uniform education structure for primary education, together with associated curricula reform to create a system adapted to the local environment; (ii) improvement of spatial distribution of enrollments through better school location planning, (iii) strengthening the quality of education by providing better trained teachers and more facilities and equipment, (iv) increasing emphasis on technical, secondary and post-secondary studies, and (v) improving human resource planning, including consultation with employers and student counseling on employment needs.

IPAR-Buea was created in early 1974 in pursuance of the realization of these objectives within the Third Five Year Plan. It was a cooperative project financed by the Cameroon government, the United Nations Development Program, the Federal Republic of Germany and the United Kingdom. Conceived in two phases - preparatory followed by implementation, the project tasks, confined to research,

experimentation and evaluation, was as follows: (i) to enable the government to determine the most effective means of achieving its objectives of adapting the primary educational system to the social and economic realities of the country, (ii) to translate into English and evaluate educational materials produced by IPAR-Yaounde, with a view to making immediate use of suitable materials in schools in the anglophone provinces, (iii) to organize and carry out environmental studies in selected pilot project areas involving socio-economic and manpower surveys, and (iv) to undertake detailed research and such testing as may be required, into the need for reform in the primary education system as well as into the innovation required for low cost education.[59]

The recommendations of IPAR-Buea, submitted after almost three years of the date of its creation, focused on the structure of the primary school (among others, raising the age of entry to school to 7 or 8 years is suggested) the curriculum in environmental studies, i.e. agriculture and social aspects, arts and crafts/technology, mathematics, English language, teacher-training, information and publicity, aspects of administration, evaluation/examination, and community-school relationship. The financial implications for each aspect were also examined. The report also reflects a recognition of the fact that the inherent problems of reform could not be solved by educational policies alone except in conjunction with economic and socio-political measures. Not surprising, the report has been acclaimed as "a model for school systems and curriculum centers throughout the world" and places the challenge of the implementation of its recommendations on the "political decision-makers."[60]

Cameroon, it has been observed, is "one of Africa's most education-conscious states"[61] which, in the school year 1976-77, had 1,146,437 pupils in all the primary schools. This meant, in effect, that 65% of the 6-14 year-olds were receiving basic education. This age group accounts for about one fifth of

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the country's population of 7.7 million (1976 census). The "consciousness" of the political decision-makers manifest itself in a declaration standardizing the curricula of primary schools throughout the country, with effect from October 1978. Table 2 below illustrates the enrollment and expansion trend in the country which contrast very greatly with the level of scholarization prior to independence.

TABLE 2

EDUCATIONAL TREND IN CAMEROON

	1977/7		1978/79		1979/80	
	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils
Kindergarten	293	25,354	375	32,763	n.a.	n.a.
Public	174	15,202	218	19,235	n.a.	n.a.
Private	119	10,152	157	13,528	n.a.	n.a.
Primary	4,711	1,202,841	4,721	1,254,065	4,748	1,302,974
Public	2,898	751,439	3,078	798,680	3,189	833,137
Private	1,813	451,402	1,643	455,385	1,559	469,837
Secondary	281	135,518	301	147,073	[illegible]	153,618
Public	109	68,750	122	77,265	130	81,365
Private	172	66,768	179	69,808	187	72,253
Technical	136	40,376	147	45,051	157	51,561
Public	23	9,582	28	11,245	30	12,881
Private	113	30,794	119	33,806	127	38,680
Higher	10	9,462	10	10,060	12	11,901

Source: Annuaires statistiques, Ministry of Education, Yaoundé.

Prior to the declaration, a decree by the Head of State dated May 12, 1977 decentralized the country's only university by creating campuses in Buea, Douala, Dschang and Ngaoundere - each to accommodate the languages, business, agriculture, and sciences faculty respectively.[62] One can only appreciate the consciousness of the political decision-makers in this sphere by examining the dynamics of the interplay between political and socio-economic variables in the internal and external environments within which the decision makers operate. A brief analysis of the constraints in these environments will be examined later after a review of the Togolese reform objectives.

The government of General Eyadema in its attempt to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the educational system adopted the following philosophy

as its guiding principle:

> *"Si l'on veut eviter que l'enseignement soit un frein au developpement économique et social, un énorme gaspillage, et que l'école devienne une fabrique de chômeurs, il importe qu'une réforme fondamentale et profonde soit opérée."*[63]

Briefly, the report of the inquiry of educational reform in the Republic of Togo published in 1974 specifies the objectives as follows:

> *(a) Adaptation of teaching to the real problems of the Togolese population by the integration of life in school and society;*
>
> *(b) Rehabilitation of African cultural values;*
>
> *(c) Rehabilitation of national languages in the school;*
>
> *(d) Democratisation of condition of the acquisition of knowledge; and*
>
> *(e) Restabilization of the school system.*[64]

Within the University of Benin in Lome, two institutes were added. They are: Direction de la Formation Permanente de l'Action et de la Recherche Pedagogiques (D.I.F.O.P.), whose primary responsibility is in-service education, and Institute de Science de l'Education (I.N.S.E.), whose primary responsibility is pre-service training for the Lycée and Ecole Normale teachers. I.N.S.E. also shares some responsibility for in-service education. In addition, two new Normal Schools for the training of preschool and elementary school children will soon be in operation. Finally, two cabinet ministers are responsible for educational development in Togo. One minister has responsibility for the first and second degré, and the other is responsible for the third and forth degrés and research. One can argue that the word "reform", like education, is normative. In a sense, it implies improvement from an old situation or the reinstatement of a situation to its proper desirable order. Another way

of looking at reform is whether or not it is concerned with the issues as they are or as they ought to be. We will not pursue this epistemological debate any further since it is beyond the scope of this paper.

However, with clearly defined structural and organizational reforms of the educational system in Togo effected as from March 1, 1975, schooling became compulsory and free-of-charge for all children between the ages of 2-15 years. A system of permanent post-school education is provided at low cost for every citizen, and the government takes charge of cost of building materials, upkeep, teaching equipment and payment of teaching staff. In addition to the French language, two (Ewe and Kabye) of the forty national languages are taught in the schools. Private schools are allowed within the framework, and provision is made for the creation of centers for apprenticeship and professional training.

The government's decision to declare free and compulsory primary education, we tend to think, was backed by its ability to finance the costs from the increased revenue of the export of phosphates in 1974.[65] Following the nationalization of the phosphate mining company in 1974 and the sudden rise in the world price of phosphate, anticipated government revenue rose by 88% between 1974 and 1975.[66] Since then, the state's annual budget has been balanced. Furthermore, the rate of attendance in primary schools increased from 40% in 1967 to 60% in 1977 - representing the highest rate of enrollment in Africa[67] - a situation similar to the German era in Togo.

The overall figures of educational growth is indicated in Table 3 below. Increased enrollments in both primary and secondary schools also meant increased government spending in the sphere of education. For example, the budget provision rose from 4.4 million Francs (CFA) in 1976-77 fiscal year to 6.6 million Francs in 1977-78.[68]

TABLE 3

EDUCATIONAL TREND IN TOGO

1975/76 - 1979/80

LEVELS	SCHOOLS		TEACHERS		PUPILS	
	1975-76	1979-80	1975-76	1979-80	1975-76	1979-80
PRIMARY	934	2,000	6,080	8,350	362,895	500,000
SECONDARY: OF WHICH						
GENERAL	71*	71*	1,358	2,500	59,162	110,000
TECHNICAL	19+	19+	251	251±	5,118	8,000
TEACHER TRAINING	1	2	25	25±	310	310±
HIGHER (UNIVERSITY)	1	1	177	269	2,186	4,000

* Includes four Lycees and six colleges

\+ Includes one Lycee and four colleges

± 1975-76 figures

Source: Africa South of the Sahara: 1980-81/1982-83. London: Europa Publishing, 1981, p.1067; 1982, p. 1087.

Investment of these sums of money has been centered on the construction of new schools and enlargement of old ones in order to cope with the increased enrollments. On the whole, the enrollment picture during the past ten years (1970-80) is shown in Table 4 below.

TABLE 4

ENROLLMENT FIGURES

(1970-80)

LEVEL	PUPILS	
	1970	1980
PRIMARY SCHOOL	250,000	500,000
SECONDARY SCHOOL	20,000	110,000
PROFESSIONAL/TECHNICAL SCH.	2,500	8,000
UNIVERSITY	900	4,000

Source: Le Lien: Bulletin d'Information et de Formation des Enseignants du Togo. (Hors Series) Lome: 1980, p.2.

Within this period, there has also been a corresponding increase of teachers/professors at all levels of the educational system in Togo. For instance, in 1970, there were about 4,000 primary school teachers as compared to 8,350 in 1980. At the secondary level, the number rose from 700 in 1970 to 2,500 in 1980. Finally, at the higher education level, there were 109 professors in 1970 of which only 33 were Togolese as compared to about 269 professors in 1980 - 166 being Togolese.[69] In July 1982, the total number of professors increased to 351.[70]

The demand for qualified teachers/professors in Togo is still high. The government's response to this demand is limited by other factors. One can only appreciate the government's efforts not only by assessing the amount of budgetary provision which increased from 2,742,273,000 CFA Francs in 1970 to 16,265,520,000 CFA Francs in 1980,[71] but also by measuring the rate of scholarization within the same period. In doing so, special note must also be taken of the resource base of the Republic of Togo and the constraints to which it has been subjected since independence was achieved in 1960. Time factor - which is often forgotten or not emphasized in the evaluation of the overall developments in Africa - becomes very significant. We shall not embark on a time-series analysis here but rather illustrate how Cameroon and Togo were also subjected under external development constraints.

D) Development Constraints

Within the internal structures of Cameroon and Togo, an obvious constraint has been the increasing demand for educational facilities at all levels. The primary school level is the predominant sector where the greatest challenge has to be met. There is no doubt that Cameroon's present population figure

of 8.4 million (1981 estimate) and an annual growth rate of 2.3%, population growth has to be controlled if the overall socio-economic goals of the country has to be achieved. Although a World Health Organization Report published in mid 1977 indicated the high level of infertility among Cameroonian women and a declining birthrate,[72] as well as a decline in infant mortality and child death rate,[73] the need for control of population growth should not be underestimated.

For example, from 1967 (when the UNESCO-assisted teacher training program was initiated) to 1977, enrollment at the primary school level increased from 816,861 to 1,146,437, representing an average growth rate of 4% per annum. With the declaration of free primary school (in public schools) in 1971, the enrollment figures increased over 10% a year in the public schools in the two anglophone provinces which hitherto, did not benefit from such facilities. Assuming that population growth is not controlled, the enrollment and expansion trend illustrated in Table 2 above will impose greater financial burden on the government with the spillover effects affecting all sectors of the Cameroon society. An indication of the possibility of such an occurence is the fact that education remained the largest single component (23,579 million francs, CFA) in the 1980-81 national budget - a position it held in 1979-80 fiscal year when the sum doubled from 10 million in 1975 to 21 million francs CFA.[74]

Another component of the internal constraint is of a political nature. While reform of primary education did not directly affect Cameroon's greatest ally - France, the Cameroonization of the University of Yaounde in 1973-74 did. By substituting the French Rector of the University with a Cameroonian Chancellor and a Vice Chancellor, as well as increasing the number of Cameroon faculty members to 79 out of a total 164, the Ahidjo regime was taking a calculated risk since a considerable proportion of the University's budget came from France.[75] This decision indicated that the regime was prepared to face the consequences of its

action. Some critiques of the regime, inspite of these changes and inherent political risk, consider the changes as merely "cosmetic". For example, Tuteng, a Cameroonian scholar, points out that:

> *...in substantive terms, these changes have meant relatively little. The structure of the university, curriculum, examinations; staff and student behavior all show an unmistakable identity with the French system. Moreover, the French still possess enormous leverage to force their will. As the body responsible for administering French Aid to higher education in Cameroon, la fondation francaise d'enseignment superieur makes grants directly to university professors for research purposes and participation in seminars and also provides vehicles (which are registered as French property) to senior university officials. Through all these practices, the foundation exercises direct control over academic and non-academic matters.* [76]

What the aforementioned critique does not tell us is the simple fact that other aid donors (e.g. - United States, Great Britain, Soviet Union, or China) to university professors - Cameroonians or foreigners - do almost the same thing as the French. The only significant difference in the behavior of foreign aid donors, generally speaking, is the level of constraint they impact on their clients. In the case of Cameroon, the external constraints come to light when one examines the country's external relationships in the historical context. Since 1960, Cameroon followed a relatively centrist and experimental political economy policy. The regime of Ahidjo sought to increase the diversity of its international political-economic relations, broaden the ownership and employment participation of Cameroonians in the directly productive sector, and ensured effective government involvement in and control over economic development. No doubt, some significant growth in the economy was attained, but with a heavy dependence on primary exports and extensive foreign investment activity to sustain growth, Cameroon, like many Third World countries, has been vulnerable to international price fluctuations of its raw materials.

Coffee, cocoa, timber, rubber, cotton and aluminium account for over two-thirds of Cameroon export earnings. Its vulnerability in the international market system has been described in these words:

> *Exports and imports rose relatively rapidly from 33,000 million francs CFA and 29,000 million francs CFA in 1963 to 64,000 million francs CFA and 67,000 million francs CFA respectively in 1970. After 1974 the balance of trade and payments tended to weaken. 1973 and 1974 were characterized by a recovery largely related to cocoa, coffee and timber price trends, but from mid 1974 the external balance position deteriorated dramatically as oil, food and manufactured import price escalation continued, while export prices retreated from 1974 record levels.*[77]

The impact of this fluctuating trend on the overall development planning of the country though not measured in this paper, is considerable. The question to ask at this stage is whether the Cameroon government could perform miracles to alleviate itself from the global network of interdependence. It seems to us that the range of choice in the sphere of educational planning has been very limited in view of the options available to the Cameroon political leadership since independence.

Similarly, among other socio-cultural and political constraints - some of which have already been mentioned above, the economic constraints affected directly or indirectly, the educational development in Togo. Its economic growth, which had eased-off in the early 1960s - just keeping pace with population growth between 1948-1960 - accelerated from 5% to an average of 7% a year from 1966-69 as development programs took effect. Consequently, the 1970s saw a general easing off in growth. G.N.P. rose by an average of 11% a year in 1970-78 and the per capita income recorded a $319.[78]

Agriculture is the most important area of economic activity in the country.

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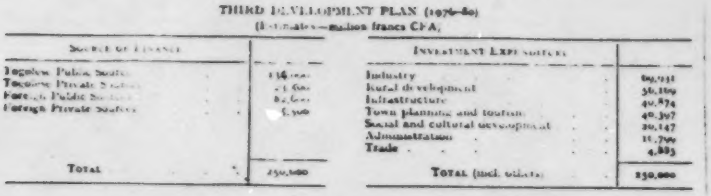
It accounts for 25% of the G.N.P., and about one half of export earnings (until 1974), and provides livelihood for about 78% of the population of about 2.5 million. Majority of the population live in the rural areas. With increased world-wide inflation, a decline in production in the cash crop sector because of low export prices, one third of the government's 1976-80 development plan was derived from foreign official sources. See Table 5 below for details.

TABLE 5



THIRD DEVELOPMENT PLAN (1976-80)

Source of Finance		Investment Expenditure	
Togolese Public Sector	114,000	Industry	69,231
Togolese Private Sector	41,600	Rural development	56,169
Foreign Public Sector	84,600	Infrastructure	40,874
Foreign Private Sector	9,800	Town planning and tourism	49,367
		Social and cultural development	20,147
		Administration	11,799
		Trade	4,893
Total	250,000	Total (incl. others)	250,000

Source: Africa South of the Sahara: 1980-81
London: Europa Pub., 1981, p. 1064.

As the table indicates, education which we imagine should be included under the investment item of "Social and Cultural Development" ranks as priority number five on the Togolese development plan. However, this analysis may be misleading if educational development is construed in the narrow sense - i.e. excluding vocational and agricultural training. But if education is defined to include the objectives of the 1975 reform with its emphasis on agricultural, technical and vocational training, then it may be argued that the investment expenditure on "Rural Development" which is priority item number 2 on Table 5 is a complimentary endeavor on educational planning in Togo.

A pertinent example of foreign assistance in the realization of the Third-Five Year Development Plan is the inauguration of the EYADEMA FOUNDATION[79] in Lome on March 3, 1977. The Foundation is modelled on, and in its initial phase, was backed technically and financially by the West German "Hans Seidel" Foundation. The Eyadema Foundation undertakes adult education and job training.

Apparently, a dependence relationship seemed unavoidable because of the need for foreign capital to finance Togolese Third-Five Year Development Plan.

CONCLUSION

Considering the fact that the development priorities in Cameroon and Togo are multiple, it becomes clear to the reader that the sacrifice made in the field of education has been successful in terms of the level of scholarization of its inhabitants as compared to the colonial era. Not only has the level of scholarization been expanded to some remote areas in the two countries, one notices also an increase of enrollment of "females" at all levels of the educational systems. For example, in Cameroon, during the 1973-74 school year, there were 568,455 boys as against 445,680 girls in primary schools. Unfortunately, the gap increases at the higher educational level. Out of 7,169 students in the University of Yaounde in the academic year, only 1,004 were girls.[80]

Although most of the graduates of the higher educational institutions have been employed in the public and private sectors of the economy, efforts to provide employment opportunities for the primary, secondary, and technical school leavers have not been satisfactory even though the manpower forecasting approach has been adopted inspite of its deficiencies.[81] The same argument applies to Togo even though the national literacy rate is recorded at 12% thereby ranking Togo 117th in the world in literacy.[82] However, the attainment of the goal of universal, free and compulsory primary education by Cameroon and Togo is praiseworthy. If one seeks consolation in the argument that unemployment is a global problem, then such an argument neutralizes the contention that educational planning in Cameroon and Togo, as in other parts of the Third World, has been inefficient. In other words, educational planning is in itself, a

global problem without an appropriate solution. The pursuit for a global solution remains a challenge to humankind throughout the world. To this end, the problems inherent in educational planning and development in Africa could also be seen from a global structural perspective.

FOOTNOTES

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